THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. IV.—No. 36 SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1st, 1917 Price One Penny

IN WORMWOOD SCRUBBS PRISON

By P. J. Dollan.

The prison system at Wormwood Scrubbs Prison is the most soulless thing I have tumbled across. It seems to have been planned by some super-monster in human form for the express purpose of crushing all mental and physical resistance in those who come within its grip. Its routine is so thoroughly repressive that even the warders are as much its prisoners as the men they supervise. To be a warder in a British prison is, I think, almost as cruel an occupation as that of a gateman in hell. So much is this the case that I have known prisoners who actually felt more pity for the warders than they did for themselves. It doubtless is more deplorable to be a cog in the machine than to be crushed in a resistance to the machine. The former dies a willing victim and slave to the system; the resister dies a hero sustained in his last moments with vision of martyrdom.

Conscientious objectors are treated like criminals, and criminals are treated like conscientious objectors. Both are treated alike, because the prison system recognises that the embezzler is no more dangerous to the existence of capitalism than the man who is too wise to go out seeking liberty with a sword in his hand. The burglar is punished, not because he does wrong, but to deter others from following his example: the conscientious objector is punished because he does right and to deter others from following his example. Even Lord Curzon has admitted this much. Consequently all prisoners are placed in solitary confinement for the first month of their sentence, and in that state are supposed to work ten hours daily sewing bags, or similar monotonous task. Solitary confinement places man on the same level with the animals; it denies him the right of association with his fellows which is the basis of his life and progress.

During solitary confinement the only literature allowed is the Bible, plus a primer on grammar or arithmetic. If the prisoners subjected to this treatment care they can attend chapel four times weekly, which, with one hour's exercise daily in a yard walled in on four sides, is the only relaxation allowed. When in solitary confinement prisoners are always under the eyes of the silent warder, who, shod in rubber shoes, parades the balcony of each flat unheard and unseen, and from time to time peeps at the caged man. This peeping is more degrading to the observed than was the peeping of a celebrated English lad to the nude Lady Godiva. That only twelve conscientious objectors have been rendered insane by this treatment is not the fault of the prison system. It is a tribute to the endurance of men that only twelve men have gone insane as the result of prison treatment, but who can estimate the number whom it has broken for all time?

Associated labour is allowed after a month, and is tolerable when compared with solitary confinement. But even in association the prisoners are watched with a vigilance that never misses the least irregular movement, the faintest whisper, or the semblance of a smile. All movement is restricted; talking is a crime, and smiling an offence. The punishment for offences against the rules is a return to solitary confinement and a diet of bread and water. All crockery and shoes are replaced by rubber utensils in punishment cells in case the inmates commit suicide! The environment is planned to make the victims as miserable as possible. On them the machine presses with its utmost weight, and only relaxes if life is endangered. If only one man died under the punishment it would be abolished for sure, and as the authorities don't want it abolished, they are careful to keep the victims alive. The officials who allowed Thomas Ashe to die won't be forgiven readily by Irish capitalism.

The general dietary is rich in malnutrition, and all prisoners suffer from lack of nourishment. The bread ration per man has been reduced from 22 ozs. to 11 ozs.; the porridge ration has been reduced by half a pint; as substitutes a pint of cocoa and a little cheese and margarine have been provided. Prisoners all suffer from hunger, and I have seen some of them so desperate for food that they picked crumbs from the floor and eat them. The younger men, especially, were often so weak from hunger that they were unfitted for physical labour requiring muscular effort. Complaints about food were made to the medical officers, who generally treated them with contempt unless the complainants had lost considerably in weight. The medical service is atrocious and our doctor used to display his ability by examining and registering ten cases in eight minutes! It was his joy to make offensive political remarks to patients who had to accept the insults in silence.

The whole system is wasteful as well as cruel. The prisoners are employed at tasks by hand which economically ought to be done by machinery. The bulk of the work consists of sewing mail-bags, and generally it took a day to sew bags by hand which could have been finished on a machine in an hour. Odd jobs were performed by men irrespective of their capacity. I have known gardeners to be employed as painters; painters as gardeners; clerks as labourers; and labourers as clerks. This kind of thing was common, proving the stupidity of the administration or its incapacity to make the most of the men at its disposal. Of course, the object of imprisonment is to make prisoners useless instead of useful. No wonder Earl Curzon has been obliged to admit that reforms are necessary. How cruel the whole system is may be understood when I state that the windows in the cells overlooking Scrubbs Park have been fitted with opaque glass to prevent prisoners seeing the Park! It is actually an offence to be caught looking out of the windows.

In this article the picture of prison life has been painted in severe colours. In a future article I hope to portray some lighter shades which require to be fitted into the picture.

Of Special Interest This Week

Food Muddling in East London

Our Christmas Number

THE LONDON LABOUR CONFERENCE

The Annual Conference of the London Labour Party was dull and disappointing. Mr. Arthur Henderson addressed the Conference on the new Labour Party Constitution, taking up much time in mere generalities. He was received with an apathy which was only broken when he said that if the workers had been organised internationally there would have been no war. Shortly afterwards the Conference stultified itself by refusing to discuss resolutions on War and Peace, a course which was virtually suggested by the warning against splitting the Party which appeared in the Executive Committee's report. Organised Labour will assuredly never prevent wars whilst Organised Labour lacks the courage to discuss War and Peace issues! Having decided, by 196,000 votes to 130,000, not to discuss the War and Peace resolutions, the Conference proceeded to run through the Agenda as speedily as possible, passing over most of the resolutions with cries of "Agreed." The dullness was only relieved by the bantering jokes of the Executive seated on the platform; indeed, regarding this hilarity in the midst of the War tragedy which the Conference would not discuss, one felt, as Keir Hardie once said of a debate in the House of Commons, that the angels must weep for it. Only once was the Conference thoroughly aroused: that was during the discussion of a resolution by the Executive calling, in view of the difficulty of obtaining sugar, potatoes, and milk, for the provision of school meals for children "who, by reason of insufficient feeding, are unable to profit by the education provided for them." The Camberwell Trades Council moved an amendment demanding school meals for all children. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst pointed out that the school meals are charged up to the parents wherever it is thought that they can pay, and declared that any child who desired a meal should be allowed to have it. She recalled Mr. Lloyd George's threat of drastic food restrictions, and said: "Every child attending the elementary schools will be in need of school feeding if you are going to allow this War to continue." Then broke out the only cheer of the Conference, a cheer loud and deep and full of feeling; for once the pacifists made themselves felt, and their indignation that official Labour should tamely allow the War to continue without a protest, without even a demand to know the reason why, vibrated through the hall.

OUR CHRISTMAS NUMBER!!!
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15th

Articles, Stories, Poems and Drawings by George Bernard Shaw, Miles Malleson, George Lansbury, Israel Zangwill, Regina Miriam Bloch, W. N. Ewer, Herbert Cole, A. Wolfstein, Hilda Jefferies, Muriel Matters and others.

ELECTORAL REFORM

GREAT BRITAIN.

We have always considered the Franchise Bill a bad Bill; we have always recognised that its passage into law was by no means assured. The clouds overhanging its future appear to be darkening. We shall not regret the wrecking of this Bill should it come to pass, for we believe that by faithfully maintaining the agitation for it complete adult suffrage will be secured in the near future.

PRUSSIA.

The Prussian Franchise Bill, as far as we know, does not apply to women, whom it proposes to leave outside the franchise. It gives votes to men of 25 who have been Prussian subjects for three years and have resided one year in any commune. Soldiers may vote, but not military officials. Plural voting is to be abolished and the franchise to be granted to all **men** on equal terms. A man who is eligible to vote and who has completed his 30 years, may be elected to Parliament. The Upper House is to consist of 60 nobles appointed for life by the King, 36 Burgomasters of towns for the period of their office, 36 property owners, 36 heads of industrial or commercial undertakings, 72 representatives of local authorities, 3 representatives of Berlin, 1 of Hohenzollern, and 36 of agriculture, 36 of commerce and industry, 12 of handicrafts, 16 of universities, 16 of churches, these appointed for 12 years; 150 persons enjoying royal confidence shall be appointed for life without nomination. The Upper Chamber is to have power, not merely to accept or reject money Bills, as a whole, but to discuss the separate items. This is a very dangerous precedent; it is essential that the elected Chamber should retain the control of the purse! As not merely the Insurance Act, the Summer Time Act, and other War-time innovations have come from Germany, we must be wary lest Mr. Lloyd George's Government attempt to force a similar measure of House of Lords "reform" on this country!

"SATIRE" RAIDED

On Tuesday, the 20th inst., Detective Inspector Sandercock, of the Special Branch, New Scotland Yard, made a raid on the publishing offices of "Satire," 127 Ossulston Street, London N.W. As the police had taken away the machinery in two raids last year, which they made in connection with two other papers published from the same address, the proprietors kept the Ossulston Street offices locked, and they first learned of the raid from the daily papers on the following day. As the locks were then found to be intact the raiders either made an entrance through the window, or used skeleton keys. The police have become expert cracksmen it appears. The raiders informed the daily Press of the event, completely ignoring the proprietors. "Satire" will appear as usual the first week of the month.

* * * *

The offices of the National Council for Civil Liberties were raided on November 21st.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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Back Numbers, 2½d. post free.

All business communications should be sent to the MANAGER, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

Vol. IV., No. 36. Sat., December 1st, 1917.

WHO BEARS THE BURDEN?

The little shop is very scantily stocked; two or three tins of cocoa; half a dozen starch and soup packets, and perhaps a card each of babies' comforters, shampoo powders and gum bottles are as much as can be spared to furnish each long shelf. A little customer stretches on tiptoe to put her empty milk jug on the counter. "We haven't got any, dear," says the worried shopkeeper. It is an answer she often has to make nowadays. She has had no tea to sell this week; she was without cheese for several days, and only managed to buy a few pounds yesterday. While keepers of small shops have difficulty in buying stock at any price, they are often obliged to lay out more capital than before the War in making purchases which will bring them a smaller return. For instance, 24 penny packets of Brooke Bond's tea could be bought, before the War, for 1s. 8d., the small dealers who sold them making a gross profit of 4d., or 20 per cent. Now, for 2s. 5d. only 32 packets can be bought, which allows of a gross profit of 3d., or 10.3 per cent. The big wholesale dealers in tea have not fared thus poorly. The profits of the Imperial Tea Company, for instance, have grown during this period:

Year ending December 31	1914	1915	1916
	£220,357	£284,181	£295,435

And these are profits; the ten per cent. gained by the little shopkeeper is not profit, for out of it has to come rent, gas, depreciation of stock, and so on; there is no wages bill, for she does all the work herself, and her labour is scarcely paid! The little shop in most cases could not be carried on but for some other source of income.

Both customers and shopkeepers wonder why tea is so scarce, and ask with "The Times" why: "The Times" puts it:

> "When tea is so scarce in retail shops throughout the country, tea which is available on the wholesale market should not find a buyer?"

Why is sugar so scarce, too, when "The Statist" is able to report the following record of stores in bond?

Tons of Sugar in Bond.

1914 (June 30th).	1916 (October 25th).	1917 (October 19th).
6,306,000	2,559,000	4,733,000

Whilst the small dealers are harassed and anxious, their customers are feeling the situation still more keenly. Women and children take their stand in the grocers' queues at 7 o'clock these cold winter mornings and wait two or three hours or more to buy half a pound of sugar. Sir Arthur Yapp is coming to preach food economy in Poplar. His will be a fruitless quest! The great struggle down here has always been to keep people from getting seriously ill through lack of nourishment. The mothers are always running a race with the various forms of tuberculosis, impetigo, and such skin diseases, and the hundred and one other ills that arise from malnutrition. How to get enough food to keep health in the husband and children has been the ever-present thought of the average woman of the district for many and many a long year. Food and rent have always consumed the major part of her income; other things which should be regarded as absolutely necessary have had to go to the wall. A baby teething with difficulty and seriously ill with bronchitis lies struggling for breath in a cot beside the fire in one of these little houses; her gums must be lanced by the doctor periodically, and her mother wraps her in a shawl at night and takes her to have it done at the surgery. "Why not send for the doctor?" you ask. The mother will tell you that would cost 2s., and it is so hard to get money enough for food and rent that every penny must be saved!

East End children were always short of milk. East End mothers with incomes round about £1 or 30s. a week—("24s. a week was good money for a woman to get before the War—but look at the prices now!")—had definitely to decide that milk could only be used for babies in arms, for putting in tea, and for occasional puddings. Now that milk is 8d. per quart, mothers are obliged to be still more sparing in their use of it; but they cannot get even as much as they can afford to buy, and much of what they buy is useless, for even this month the milk often becomes a sour-smelling solid mass when warmed a few hours after it is bought.

Condensed milk is becoming as scarce as fresh milk; some brands of it can only be bought by producing a birth certificate proving that there is a young baby in the household, and not always then. Tins of milk which used to cost 3d. each before the War are 11½d. to-day. Essential fats have been extracted from the cheaper brands of milk, and the babies are feeble and sickly who are reared on them. Mothers know that; but knowing the consequences to their children, mothers must buy inferior commodities if they have not the money to buy anything better. There is a strong case for the public ownership and distribution of the milk supply, payment to be exacted as for municipal gas or water, by a quarterly rate; or, better still by a tax on unearned incomes or a levy on capital until such time as Socialism abolishes unearned increment and private stores of capital altogether. The need for public control and distribution of other foods is only less urgent than that of milk. "I had to pay 3s. for a frozen rabbit last Saturday. I used to be able to get a better one for 8d.!" a woman tells us. Another says that her grandson came home from the War discharged through heart trouble. She had not been able to buy either tea or sugar to give him the favourite drink on his home-coming, and he had to go out to buy it himself, as a discharged soldier, whom no shopkeeper would care to refuse, before any could be got. People who do not stand in the queues are obliged to resort to all sorts of other shifts. Women are torn between the necessity of becoming wage-earners to supplement earnings or husbands separation allowances; and the necessity of remaining free to take their places in the queue. But our present hardships are as nothing, so Food Controllers tell us, to the hardships that are before us.

To what have we reached in all these ages in which mankind has been climbing upward from savagery? Consider these acres and acres of dismal streets, where, in the piercing wind, the poorly clad women flinch and tighten their shawls around them. Some of the children are barefooted, many have broken boots, their clothes are old and shabby—but that is nothing—it is terrible that so large a proportion is dwarfed and stunted by blighting poverty. A boy drags one twisted foot awkwardly behind him as he hobbles along, making great efforts to keep pace with his companion. A half-crippled boy with a bad squint passes beside us. There is hardly a group of little ones by the roadside in which some are not scarred by ringworm or impetigo. A woman, still in her early thirties, but already beginning to look old, stands at her door holding her pale wasted little baby; one of her children recently died of heart complaint, another is in hospital with a tubercular hip, a third is in hospital being treated for scabies, which, brought home from the trenches by the soldiers, is becoming a common complaint. Hundreds of other women within a stone's throw of this spot could give a similar record of present family illness.

Children reared in the zone of poverty rarely escape without physical blemish. On their blighted lives our twentieth century civilisation rests. In order that some may draw incomes they never worked for; in order that some may have more comforts than they actually need, millions must live in squalor. There is to be some tinkering at the Insurance Bill, but nothing can meet the need, save what those who live on the labour of these unfortunates refuse—a non-contributory system which shall insure that whoever is ill, man, woman, or child, shall be given all necessary care and nourishment till complete health is restored.

Our rulers talk of amending the Insurance Act and establishing a Ministry of Health; but at the same time—in order to continue the War—they are preparing to make still more barren and bitter the poverty which already is sapping the vitality of millions of people. In Russia a working people's Revolution is going forward, a revolution fought to abolish both the luxury of wealth and the emptiness of poverty. But the workers here do not know it. Gulled by the Press which is run by those who would keep things as they are, they do not understand. They do not realise that in Petrograd the decree has gone forth that East may go West, and that the slum dwellers may leave their insanitary, overcrowded hovels and freely move into the well-built mansions which hitherto were only partly used. They do not know that decrees have gone forth to end the reign of the boss and the landlord; that land committees and industrial committees share out both the labour and its produce on equal terms. They are told, but they do not realise its significance, that the Russian private soldiers, the husbands, sons and brothers of working people, are forming regimental committees to negotiate an armistice with the private soldiers of the armies opposed to them. The capitalist papers indignantly describe this as "anarchy" and "chaos." In the opinion of those who own such papers, soldiers are merely tools to be set to fight or called off at the bidding of those who are rich and powerful. We understand why rich and powerful people dislike such tactics, but surely working people all the world over should see that they are good.

The Russian Socialist Government has invited the Governments of the world to formulate Peace terms and to arrange an armistice, and it is making every effort to reach the common people of every country; it has published newspapers printed in German to give to the German people to prove to them that their Government, like all the other belligerent Governments, has prosecuted this War with mercenary capitalist aims. The Russian Socialist Government is publishing all the secret treaties. It is showing that by a telegram of Sazonoff's dated February 24th, 1916, Russia agreed to let France and Britain get as much German territory as they could conquer on the West on condition that Britain and France would let Russia have as much as she could conquer on the East.

The Russian Socialist Government has further shown that in 1907-9 negotiations were carried on between Russia and Germany to secure that Austria should be kept out of the Balkans, that Germany would not intervene if Russia invaded Austria and that Russia would remain neutral if Germany were attacked by Britain. Another document shows that Germany tried to buy Italian neutrality by concessions of territory at the expense of Austria, but Italy wanted too much and though France and Russia considered her demands excessive, Italy, or rather her Government, for of course her people had no share in the game of plunder, cemented her bargain with the Allies.

The Russian Socialist Government has rightly consigned to the waste paper basket the whole bundle of immoral treaties, which ought never to have been made, and each of which is concerned with transferring populations to alien rulers against their will. The newspapers run by the capitalist cliques which have manœuvred these treaties are, of course, indignant; "The Times" speaks of the denial of the treaties as "The Great Betrayal." The situation would be ludicrous were it not so very tragic that the peoples of Europe fail to understand the situation. To prevent them realising, Socialist-pacifist newspapers and office premises are raided, and the censorship of Peace pamphlets has been instituted by those who violently abuse the Bolsheviks for placing some restriction upon Russian counter-revolutionary papers. Against the censorship of literature dealing with the War a most vigorous propaganda must be carried on. Every organisation should at once send resolutions to the Government, to the Labour M.P.s, and to the City Councils urging them to protest. No stone should be left unturned. The order must not be calmly knuckled down to, for knowledge is power, and liberty is at stake!

The Russian Bolsheviks are fighting for Socialism, for the welfare of all the peoples of the world. Our fight is theirs. Lord Robert Cecil has declared that they are outside the pale "of the ordinary councils of Europe," and Mr. Balfour has stated that the British Government has not found itself able to enter into relations with the Russian Socialist Government.

An ominous telegram from New York conveys a threat of sending British, American and Japanese troops to Kharbin to work in conjunction with the Russian and Chinese administrators to preserve public safety! Kharbin is in Manchuria, on the Siberian railway. Troops sent there on any pretext would therefore be in a convenient position for invading Russia. It seems only too probable that such an invasion is contemplated by the powerful capitalists, who are playing for tremendous stakes in this War. The pretence that foreigners must be protected is a transparent one. It has been employed again and again to cover the invasion and subjugation of defenceless nationalities; Morocco and Egypt are amongst the many witnesses to this fact. The British people have a right to know what the Government is about. To join with Japan and America in attacking Russia would bring added misery to this country as well as to Russia. Will the British workers allow the Government to crush the Socialist Revolution in their name? The German Minority Socialists are demonstrating in support of the Russian proposals, and are being brutally punished for doing so. The Russian Socialist Government has to meet enemies from within and without; but now comes the good news that Camille Huysmans, the Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, is sending out another call for an international peoples' Peace Conference at Stockholm.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

THE SOLDIERS' PAY

The increase of the soldiers' pay from 1s. to 1s. 6d. a day is puffed as a particularly generous act; but owing to the rise in the cost of living the soldier's wage will still have a lower purchasing value than it had at the outbreak of War. The increases in sailors' pay range from 2d. a day extra for A.B. ratings to 5d. a day for chief petty officers. This is not the first time that peculiar meanness has been displayed by the Admiralty.

FOOD CONTROL COMMITTEE

The Food Controller recently announced that Food Control Committees were empowered to fix the price of milk. But in some cases Food Control Committees have fixed milk prices, and the Controller has refused to sanction the prices fixed by the Committee. It is now announced that the Food Controller proposes to issue an Order empowering local authorities to requisition milk which is sold in the district in normal times, but is now being sent elsewhere. Will the Controller, after issuing this Order, refrain from sanctioning its being put into force? The people in some districts have already forced the Local Food Control Committees to take such action in regard to both milk and butter. Nothing much will be done in the food question unless the people show a determination to demand better distribution.

* * * *

Bristol Food Control Committee is opposed to the new sugar coupon scheme, and has decided to take no steps to carry it out till advised by the district Commissioner. The Committee took the last food register under great stress with the aid of voluntary labour given at night; it does not consider it right to ask for the same help again so soon.

* * * *

50,000 men and women refused to start work at Coventry because the employers refused to recognise shop stewards.

RUSSIANS INTERNED

The Russian Foreign Minister demands the release of George Tchitcherine, Mr. Petroff and Mrs. Irma Petroff. When interned, Tchitcherine was engaged in spotting Tsarist spies and tracing their connection with Scotland Yard. This work he had undertaken at the request of M. Skatikoff, Commissioner of the Russian Provisional Government. Russian public opinion cannot tolerate the imprisonment of Revolutionary heroes whilst intriguing counter-revolutionary Britons remain at large in Russia.

PRAISE FOR THE CZARDOM

The "Daily Express" says:—

"Russia has a great past. . . The men who are now covering the noble name of Russia with disgrace must one day stand exposed to Russia for what they are." In these words the "Daily Express" frankly avows its sympathy with autocracy and its ideal of greatness. The Czardom, supported by Siberia, the dungeon, and the torture chamber. "Nicholas the Autocrat," published by the W.S.F., 400 Old Ford Road, E., for one penny gives Tolstoi's views on the Russian Czardom.

SHIPPERS VERSUS C.O.s

The China Mutual Steam Navigation Company has won the action it brought against the Shipping Controller who had requisitioned its shipping staffs and profits and expected the owners to go on working the business for the Controller. The owners refused their services and brought this action. The owners are not called unpatriotic because their objection was not a conscientious one. Mr. Justice Bailhache said that "the services of the owners must be obtained by negotiation, and not by command." Why not apply this principle to the soldiers?

THE GERMAN METHOD

According to "Vorwaerts," Count Hertling was forced by the German progressives to agree to the following demands before becoming Chancellor:—

1. Germany's foreign policy is to be conducted in the spirit which inspired the German reply to the Pope and the Reichstag peace-resolution of July 19th—a peace of conciliation, international arbitration, disarmament.

2. The Prussian franchise reform is to be swiftly and loyally realised.

3. Political censorship is to be suppressed and the rights of the military authorities in political matters are to be defined in the most precise fashion.

4. The extension of the right of coalition, implying the suppression of article 153 of the law on the organisation of labour, which contains various prohibitions for workpeople.

Will the British progressives force our next Prime Minister to agree to anything?

GAG?

Lord Northcliffe has become a Viscount, his brother, Lord Rothermere, has been given the office of Air Minister, which Lord Northcliffe refused. The Lord Chief Justice, who ceased to be plain Mr. Rufus Isaacs in 1910, has now become an earl.

ORPHANS AND GRANDPARENTS

The annual meeting of the Association of Poor Law Unions recommended the abolition of the provision against emigrating Poor Law children under five years of age when another child of the same family is going abroad. Charlie Sumner, of Poplar, protested against the deportation of these tiny children. The meeting meanly defeated a motion to increase the old age pension to 10s. 6d. a week. £1 a week would be all too little in these hard times!

International Young Age Pensions

Dear Friends of Humanity,—Before the storm bursts let us endeavour to place the children and all those who are helpless in comparative safety by securing SEVEN SHILLINGS A WEEK each for them from the State, that we may be free to work for other reforms. At present, whilst they are exposed to cold, poverty and hunger, we can think of nothing else. 7s. a week would ENABLE FAMILIES TO MOVE AT ONCE INTO BETTER HOUSES, and to obtain better milk and food. This would stimulate local trade and reduce expenses of WORKHOUSES, HOSPITALS, PRISONS and LUNATIC ASYLUMS, and do away with all poor rates to such an extent as to be A GREAT SAVING to the taxpayers, and would enable sensible girls to marry where they would otherwise not dare to do so, and to bring up healthy happy children to become stalwart citizens and parents in their turn, besides relieving untold pain and suffering, and being an estimable benefit to the State.

The fact of a married man becoming automatically POORER at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 7s. a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from the Government now before it may be too late.—Yours truly,

A CHILD LOVER.

Advert.]

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

November 20th.—Mr. Forster stated that the increase in Army pay would date back to October 1st.

ITALIAN EXTORTION.

Sir Chiozza Money in reply to Mr. Houston (U.), explained that coal delivered at an Italian port cost 50s. 6d. per ton exclusive of war risk. Yet Mr. Houston informed the House that the private consumer in Italy pays about £24 per ton!

POLICE RAIDS.

The series of raids perpetrated on pacifist and other progressive societies was justified by Sir G. Cave as under No. 51 of D.O.R.A.. As in the case of the "Dreadnought" no special offence was indicated!

PEACE BY NEGOTIATION.

No definite answer was given to Mr. King (L.) as to whether it will be illegal to "advocate, state or discuss the desirability of peace through negotiations."

SUGAR CARDS AND NATIONAL SERVICE.

Sir A. Geddes, of the National Service Department, in reply to Mr. Runciman (L.) said: "We have not yet drawn any information in bulk from the sugar cards, but hope to be able to get information from them."!!!

JUVENILE NIGHT WORK.

There are 14,000 boys under sixteen and 8,000 girls between sixteen and eighteen employed on night shifts in national and controlled factories. Sir George Cave's only excuse to Lord H. Cavendish-Bentinck was that "special relaxations" of the Factory Acts had to be given, which explanation might be put forward in every case and make Factory Acts an utter farce.

EMPLOYERS' HUMANITY.

Mr. Anderson (Lab.) asked Mr. Kellaway to take action in the strike of 400 women employed by Messrs. Beardmore at their Glasgow Factory, and stated that the strike arose owing to the dismissal of four women who were charged with restrictive output, three of whom had been in the employment of the firm for two years; that they catch a train at 5.25 a.m. and do not return until 7.25 p.m. One of the women attributes decreased output to the continued strain of the long hours—another of the women had just lost her husband who had been paralysed. Mr. Anderson further stated that organised workmen are contributing to the support of the women. Mr. Kellaway was not able to promise anything further than investigations.

* * * *

Sir G. Cave announced that Peter Petroff has been removed to Pentonville because he refused to take food in the Islington Internment Camp.

THE CZAR AND ALSACE-LORRAINE.

November 21st.—Mr. Balfour admitted having received on August 1st M. Ribot's statement as to the Czar's promises to M. Briand, not only of the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, but also of making an autonomous State out of German territories on the west bank of the Rhine. Russia has let the cat out of the bag now!

KEELEY AND COMPANY.

Sir G. Cave announced that Mr. Philip Isaacson, otherwise Keeley and Co., printer, is in prison awaiting deportation. No excuse was given for not giving him a public trial!

PEACE LEAFLETS.

November 22nd.—Sir G. Cave, in reply to Mr. Trevelyan said: "The new Regulation applies to the distribution of leaflets printed before its issue but I propose to instruct the police to give time for the submission to the Press Bureau of any leaflets already published other than those which are clearly illegal under previous Regulations; and if such leaflets are passed by the Press Bureau, not to insist on the addition of the name and address of the author until existing stocks are exhausted."

* * * *

The presence of detectives at the Southampton Trades Council was at last admitted by Sir G. Cave.

GOVERNMENT SWEATING.

In reply to Mr. Byrne (I.N.), Mr. Forster stated: The rates for female clerks of 18 years of age and over are 24s. to 28s. a week, including war bonus, in Army Pay Offices in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dublin, Belfast and Cork—in London an additional 2s. weekly is paid. In the Cork office "there are a few girls of 14 and 15 who live with their mothers" who are paid 6s. a week, with a bonus of 4s. a week. We would like to know how Mr. Forster ascertained that these girls live with their mothers, and if they did not would the War Office pay less sweated rates?

LOGIC (?).

November 23rd.—The new Regulation in regard to leaflets will not apply to the Parliamentary Official Report. But it will be a punishable offence to distribute, without first submitting it to the Censor, any leaflet merely containing an extract from the Official Report!!! Books are not affected by the Regulation.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE.

A Bill to amend the Acts relating to the National Health Insurance was introduced by Sir Edwin Cornwall, read a second time, and committed to a Standing Committee. The various changes can only be fully understood when compared with the original Bill of 1911. It is proposed to adjust the insurance as between men and women, and for this purpose a State grant of £280,000 is to be paid into women's ordinary benefit funds. The reason for this equalisation fund is to meet the excess sickness claims of married women. Instead of the present arrangement for married women going out of insurance, a marriage benefit of £2, or one year's insurance for all benefits is to be granted.

Aliens are to be put on the same footing as ordinary British, "not from any love of aliens. It is simply a business proposition," to quote Sir Edwin Cornwall. What must friendly aliens think when members of the Government express such hostile feelings towards them? Why should Tommies be sacrificed for Belgian "aliens" since this member of the Government "loves" them so? Sir E. Cornwall made remarks about housing and its bad effect on the health of the people. Now that conscription has shown the abnormal percentage of unfit men, the Government seems to be considering overcrowding in insanitary houses a bad speculation. Soldiers and sailors are to benefit, too, by the new Bill.

RAIDS AND LEAFLETS.

November 26th.—Many questions were put to Sir G. Cave about the recent police raids. Mr. R. Lambert (L.) pointed out that copies of Mill's "Liberty" were taken from the National Council for Civil Liberties. Mr. Outhwaite, amongst other criticisms, stated that an officer seized copies of a service of prayer because he saw the word "peace" in one of the prayers. Sir G. Cave's answers were helpless. In the face of the two idiotic incidents we quote, how can he or any member of the Government deny that the object of all these raids is to obliterate Peace and Liberty from this country?

ARMY INCREASED PAY.

Soldiers and sailors, the heroes about whom so much is said and written, have at last got an increase in pay. "Tommy" now is to enjoy the munificent pay of 1s. 6d. per day! We are glad to note that Hospital stoppages are abolished, "except in cases where a man is in hospital through his own fault."

EDUCATION.

The Education Bill may yet be taken this session!

THE FRANCHISE QUESTION.

The debate on the Representation of the People Bill was continued on November 20th, 21st, 22nd and 26th. We welcome the amendment which grants the municipal vote to married women, although the introduction of the objectionable age limit of 30 is a bad precedent and especially insulting, as during the same debate a decision was made giving the right to the Parliamentary vote to soldiers of 19. Sir F. Banbury (U.) excelled himself on the subject of the young soldier's vote by stating: "I say the vote is not a right, and never has been a right. If the vote is a right, everyone ought to have it, whether he has fought or whether he has not. But it never has been a right. What the vote has been is a duty which has been given by Parliament to people whom they thought were fit to exercise that duty, and to carry it out." From which statement will be seen that Sir F. Banbury strikes at the root of our claim, i.e., that all human beings have the right to vote because they are human beings. Mr. Herbert Samuel (L.) let slip, in his antagonism to the 19 year old voter, that "the age limit in the case of women is avowedly artificial in order to prevent women voters outnumbering men voters." Those serving in the British Red Cross Society, or the order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, or any other similar body, were suggested as coming under the Special Provisions for Persons Serving on War Service. No final decision was taken, but when Sir F. Banbury (U.) asked whether this would give the vote to women of 21, Sir G. Cave said he thought not. Sir F. Banbury: "Why not?"

By far the most telling and instructive debates were those on "Provision as to Disqualifications." Sir G. Cave was forced to withdraw his amendment disfranchising those who had, for 30 days or more during the qualifying period, "been maintained as an inmate of any prison, or of any lunatic asylum, or workhouse, or poor-house supported wholly or partly out of local rates." Such a clause would probably exclude many progressive citizens from voting, since it is the independent thinkers who are at present imprisoned. A hideous blot on British Government was made by the acceptance of Sir George Younger's amendment to disfranchise conscientious objectors. Lord Hugh Cecil (U.) made a fine speech, in which he pointed out that the amendment suggested punishing men "retrospectively" for what an Act of Parliament gave them permission to do. This proposition was to make the State "the last word of moral obligation," just what we accuse the Germans of doing! He quoted the case of Edith Cavell. It was said that it was inhuman to put her to death because, according to a higher law, she had a claim on German gratitude. This amendment did not seek to deprive of votes "all those who have been sentenced by civil tribunals, such as pickpockets, robbers, all those concerned in fraud, acts of violence, and those animated by the most odious lusts, the names of whose offences must not pass honest lips. All those may have votes. And why not? There is at any rate nothing conscientious about them. They are free from the damning taint of a strong but unenlightened conscience." Thus Lord Hugh argued against penalising conscience, although he did not fail to point out that he was not in sympathy with the C.O.s.

Mr. Rowntree (L.) pointed out such anomalies as that of the C.O. over forty-one having a vote, whilst the man of military age would not. Those who are doing work of national importance like the Friends' Ambulance Unit would be deprived of votes should this amendment be passed. The men who have come up before the Pelham Committee he urged have sacrificed their business, yet the man who has been fined for profiteering or sent to prison is allowed a vote or two whilst they are to be disfranchised. Mr. L. Jones (L.) styled this wish to disfranchise the C.O. "a step in the downward course." Mr. Adamson (Lab.) warned the House against turning a small section of the people into a large portion, and also against causing industrial trouble by this desire to punish C.O.s. Commander Wedgwood (L.) said: "Take away a man's citizenship and make him a pariah so far as politics are concerned, and you give him a fatal weapon to wield against those who believe in citizenship." But of what avail was this advocacy of the liberty of conscience against Sir G. Cave's dictum: "The principles and the conduct of the conscientious objectors are to me odious." But we forget he is a lawyer! A majority of thirty-eight votes disgraced the House of Commons. It is possible that the House of Lords will put it to shame! Proportional representation was again defeated but the alternative vote was established. Mr. Peto's amendment making permanent the proxy vote was carried without a division.

WHATS' ON?
W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUTDOOR
GREAT PUSH FOR PEACE! SOCIALISM! VOTES FOR ALL!

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1st.
Hoxton District: Meet 2.30 p.m., at St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street (near Old Street Tube Station and Shoreditch Church). Secretary for the day: Miss Beamish (same address).
Meeting at 3 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Birch, Mrs. Walker, Rev. R. W. Sorensen.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 2nd.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m., Mr. L. Hogben
Finsbury Park, 3.30 p.m., Ex-Inspector Syme.
Hyde Park, 3.30 p.m., Miss Price.
Flagstaff, Hampstead, 3 p.m., Mrs. Walker.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 7th.
Armagh Road, Bow, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8th.
Grundy Street, Poplar, 3 p.m., Mrs. Walker.

INDOOR

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 5th.
29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, 8 p.m., Speakers' Class.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6th.
29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, 3.30 p.m., Mr. Fred Shaw, "Free Trade or Paris Conference Proposals." Chair: Mrs. Walker.
85 Camberwell Grove, 7.30 p.m., Social. A Pacifist Play will be performed.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8th.
Fabian Hall, 25 Tothill Street, 3 p.m., At Home. Speaker Miss Sylvia Pankhurst. Music.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 9th.
Bow Women's Hall, 5 p.m., General Meeting (London Section). Business: "Old Cockney Fair."

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 4th.
Walthamstow League of Rights.
William Morris Hall, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Sizer and others.

PROVINCIAL

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30th.
Argyle House, Anlaby Road, Hull, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, "The European Situation."

MANCHESTER W.S.F.—Miss Sylvia Pankhurst on "Social Problems." Chair: Mrs. Forrester, B.A. Today (Saturday) December 1st, 7.30 p.m., at Onward Buildings, Deansgate. Admission free. Collection.

BRIERFIELD I.L.P.—Sunday, December 2nd. Speaker: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

BIRMINGHAM.—Members are asked to bring contributions for the Old Cockney Fair to Stirchley Institute on Wednesday evening, December 5th, or send them to Mrs. Durant, 176 Maryvale Road, Bournville, to be forwarded.

OUR FUNDS

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3. All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3.

Gratefully Acknowledged.

GENERAL FUND.—Miss M. Gliksten, £12 10s.; Irene, per Mrs. Drake (20s. weekly), £2; Mrs. and Miss Branch £1 10s.; "Two Soldiers Wives," Walthamstow, per Miss Pankhurst, 10s. COLLECTIONS: Jewish Ethical Society (including literature and ticket sales, 10s.), £3 6s. 1d.; Miss Price, 16s. 3½d.; Walthamstow B.S.P., 10s. 4½d.; Miss Lynch, 3s. 9d.

PEACE CAMPAIGN.—Mrs. Eva Cohen, £1; Mrs. Casey, 10s.; Miss L. Isaacs, 5s.; Mrs. Brimley, 1s. 6d.

OLD COCKNEY FAIR.—Mrs. Widdiscombe, £1; Miss I. Rinstone, 5s. 10d.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—Mrs. L. Wheatcroft (card), 13s.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 2s.

"DREADNOUGHT" GUARANTEE FUND.—Previously acknowledged (weekly), £2 15s. 7d.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Mrs. Alice Singer (including Montessori 5s.), £9 7s. 8d.; Mr. and Mrs. Beesley, £2 2s.; Mrs. Boswell, £2; Mrs. Lancaster, £1; J. Kennedy, Esq., £1; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 10s.; L. Skidelsky, Esq., 10s.; Miss Mabel Sennett, 10s.; Mr. A. Potter, 7s.; Miss E. R. Barter, 5s.; Miss K. Clutterbuck, 5s.; Mrs. Jarman, 2s. 6d.; Miss E. Burden, 2s.; Miss E. M. Monkhous, 1s. 6d. COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Tool-room, £1 2s. 1½d.; Misses E. Lagsding and J. Watts (Green's Yard), 10s.; Mrs. Casey (churn), 9s. 9½d.; Miss A. Zeital (box), 8s. 4½d.; Miss K. Lagsding and Mrs. Bertram, Cubitt Town, 2s. 6d.; Nursery Box, 6¾d.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF RIGHTS
A CONCERT AND DANCE

On behalf of the above will be held at the W.S.F. HALL, 400, OLD FORD ROAD, BOW, E.3, on SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8th, 1917.

The Concert will be given by the Paddington (No. 2) N.U.R. Concert Party.

Commence 6.30 p.m. M.C.: A. A. WATTS
Tickets (including Tax) EIGHTPENCE.
Refreshments at popular prices.

THE HERALD LEAGUE

We learn with much regret that on Sunday, November 24th, a chief inspector of the Metropolitan Police called on the Secretary of the North London Division of the "Herald" League and informed him that all future meetings of the "Herald" League in Finsbury Park were forbidden by order of the Secretary of State (Home Secretary) under section 9a of the D.O.R.A. This means that the excellent propaganda of this organisation has been deprived of one of its best meeting places. We wish them luck in their next endeavour!

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d. —Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

SUFFRAGE WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Hostess, Miss Turner.

FURNISHED BED-SITTING ROOM with attendance; 5s. a week; Central London.—Apply, Box 400.

TO LET—HALL for meetings, etc., holds 60. Terms moderate.—Apply Miss Beamsih, St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, N.

TYPEWRITING REQUIRED at home; MSS. and Plays; Duplicating accurately done. Terms on application.—Apply Miss A. O. Beamish, 85 Hoxton Street.

WANTED—A FIREGUARD for Socialist Sunday School, 20 Railway Street, Poplar, E.

TWO UNFURNISHED ROOMS TO LET to English wife; rent 5s. weekly; second floor, rooms facing front; children (not more than two) not objected to; Central London.—Apply Box 400, this office.

MONDA SOCIALISMO.
Free Food, Law Love, Temple Truth, Sovran Self.
Songs and Recitals by ALEXANDER HUNTER, 37 Collingwood Road, Coventry.—"Fine Voice." "Powerful Reciter."

ANTIQUES
For Genuine Old English Furniture and China
Mary Casey, 29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.2

ELECTRIC MACHINE BAKERY
91 BURDETT ROAD, MILE END
W. WOODS & SONS,
Family Bakers.

HOXTON W.S.F. SOCIAL

Social and dance will be held at St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton, N., on Saturday, December 8th, from 8—11 p.m. Music. Ticket, 4d. (including tax). Refreshments at popular prices. There will be no moon!

* * * *

Mr. Hughes says that without conscription his National Government will not attempt to govern Australia.
We hope not!

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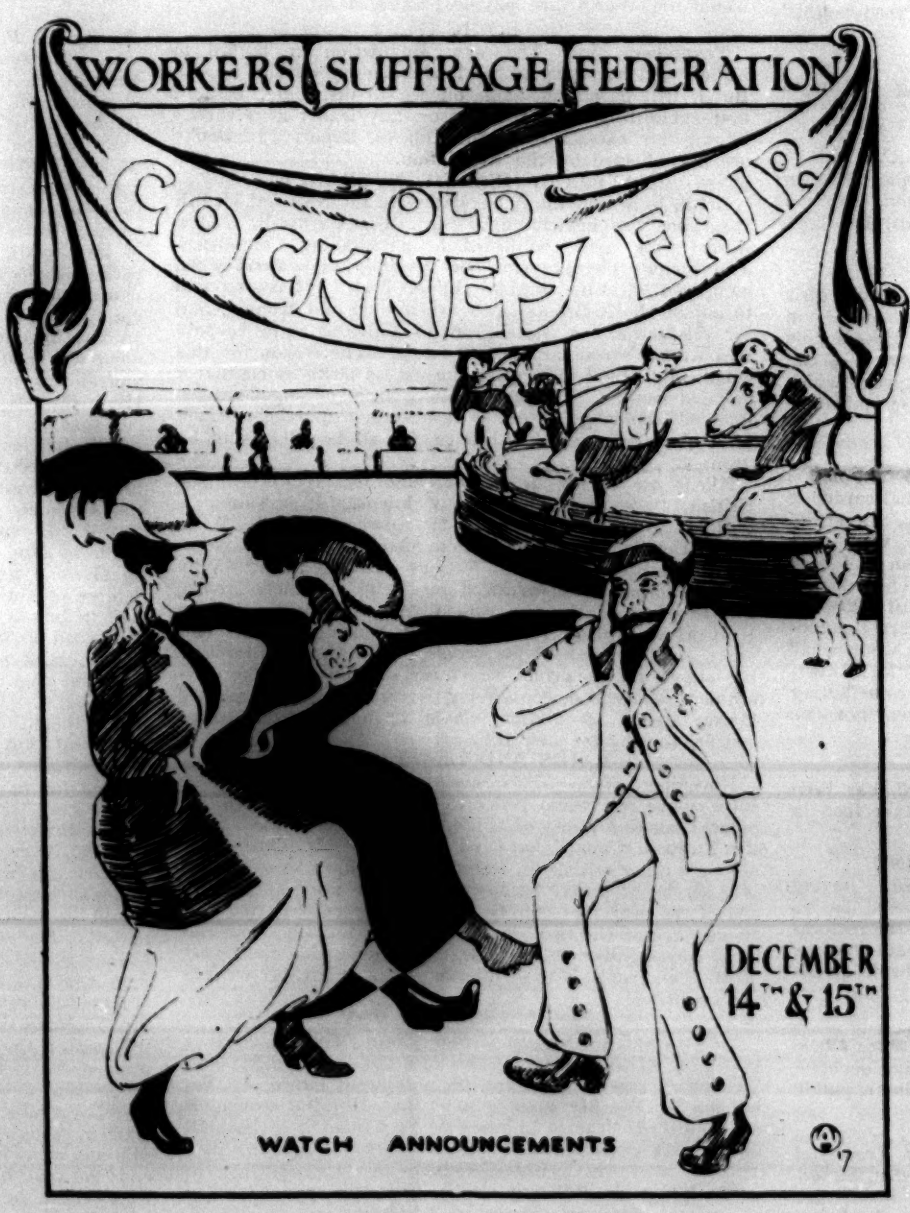
OLD COCKNEY FAIR

HOLBORN HALL
GRAYS INN ROAD, W.C.

FRIDAY, 14th DECEMBER; SATURDAY, 15th DECEMBER, 2.30 p.m. till 11 p.m.

LIST OF STALLS AND STALLHOLDERS.

Fruit, Vegetables, and Flowers—Mrs. Pascoe.
Toys—Mrs. Hercbergova.
Curios & Jewellery—Mrs. Casey.
Children's Garments—
The Mothers' Arms helpers.
New Garments—Poplar Branch.
Second-hand Garments—Mrs. Payne.
Books, New and Second-hand—Miss Macdonald.
Fancy Goods—
Novelty Stall—Miss Di Benningfield.
Grocery—Mrs. Crabb.
Tobacco—
Pottery—Mrs. Wood.
Hats—Miss Horsfall.
Bran Pie—
Roast Potatoes, Whelks and other East London delicacies. Come and try them!



SPECIAL ATTRACTIONS!

¶ Aunt Sally, Cheap Jack, Penny Shies, Chuck Halfpenny, Palmist, Cockney Recitations, London Cries, Pearly King, Costers and their barrows.

¶ COME TO THE FAIR! You will be able to imagine yourself in the "Land of Cockaigne" as it used to be. Save up to buy your Christmas presents there. Bring your children and your friends!

¶ Stall-holders still needed for Tobacco and Fancy Goods stalls and Bran Pie.

Send your contributions towards stalls, children's dresses, scenery, or general expenses to Miss Æ. Tollemache, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3.

¶ The boys of the London College of Choristers will sing after the opening ceremony each day.

¶ Friday at 8 p.m. and Saturday at 5 p.m. the Children from Bow in Miles Malleson's Fairy Play "Paddly Pools" and "Cock Robin."

¶ CONCERT, Saturday 15th, 8 p.m., M. Edouard Soermus (Violinist); Russian Dances, Songs, Miss Irene Bouvier, Mr. Grishin.

TICKETS: Two days, 1/- (including tax); One day, 8d.; One evening, 5d., from 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3.